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NOTES ON THE INVADERS
OF

MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA

AND THE

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG,

JULY 1ST, 2D AND 3D, 1863.

ACCOMPANIED BY AN EXPLANATORY MAP

By M. J. F.

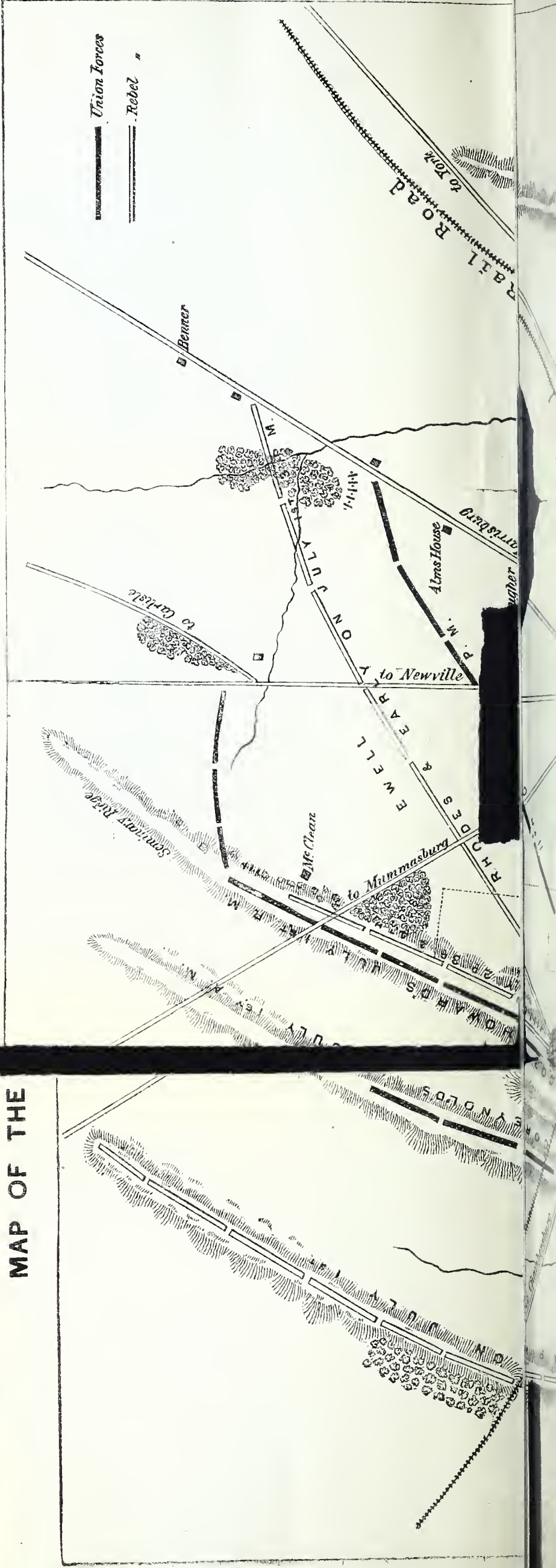
Late Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg.

[FIFTH EDITION, REVISED.]

BATTLE-FIELD OF GETTYSBURG.

[JULY 1st, 2d and 3d, 1863.]

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BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG,
July 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1863,
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By M. JACOBS,
Late Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry in Penn'a College, Gettysburg.
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STATEMENT.

TWENTY-FIVE years having passed since these "Notes" were first published, the author's family deem it nothing else than due him to say that their chief value consists in the place and time when they were written. The author, as a very diligent botanist and mineralogist, having during the thirty-four years before the battle thoroughly explored with successive classes of students the entire country included in the field and its surroundings for miles, was thoroughly familiar with all its topographical details. As an eye and ear witness of much that transpired, writing within a few weeks of the battle, the narrative must have so far a permanent value. Much of course is also included upon which he had to depend on the testimony of others, heard directly after the

occurrences described; and in this regard, his proximity to the scenes and time may render his accounts less valuable as an accurate portraiture of all details or even of the relative importance of movements in different portions of the field; for these could be properly gleaned only by laborious research among official records, and by collecting and sifting the testimony of the varied experiences of the many thousands of actors in this great drama. All this was beyond his purpose, as the title "Notes" indicates, the sketch here presented having been written during July and August, 1863, entirely for private transmission in his family, and afterwards at the solicitation of intimate friends having been committed to the press. The entire style and spirit of "Notes" is colored by the time and the scenes that had so recently transpired. This we believe will enable the reader to enter into the experiences of those three days of fire and blood far more deeply than the more elaborate accounts, (such as that of Comte de Paris), which, however valuable to one who wishes to make the study of the field a specialty, bewilder with their minuteness of detail those who desire only to fix in their minds an outline of what transpired, and to appreciate the battle as a living fact. For such readers this edition is offered, former editions, amounting to twenty thousand copies, having been exhausted.

INTRODUCTION.

The account of the battles at Gettysburg, prepared by Rev. Dr. Jacobs, Professor of Mathematics in Pennsylvania College, will take a place among historical documents of high permanent value. It is the record of an eye-witness, made, in large part, while the scenes he describes were passing before him. The author is distinguished as an acute observer, as a man of clear judgment and of great conscientiousness, who is not only scrupulous as to the substance of his statements, but cautious in their tone and coloring. His chronicle will be found a chronicle of facts. What he knows is carefully sifted from what he conjectures: of the former we have much, of the latter almost nothing. The sequence of parts, and the internal relations of the terrible struggle at Gettysburg are

presented by Professor Jacobs with a fidelity and simplicity which render his narrative pre-eminent among the very many accounts of the battles which have been written. The chart, formed upon actual measurements, is of great value ; and it will be found that the historical notes, to which it is a companion, are marked like it by that spirit of mathematical precision which is indispensable in military history. The pilgrims who, with this little volume in their hands, shall visit the memorable fields whose undying story it tells, the thousands who eagerly read all that bears upon the grandest and most critical struggle of the most momentous war in the annals of our race, will gratefully feel, in common with the laborious searcher for truth, the rare and true student of history, that Professor Jacobs has rendered an invaluable service in his unpretending and excellent work.

CHARLES P. KRAUTH.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 23rd, 1863.*

THE
REBEL INVASION
OF
MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA.

SHORTLY after the battle of Chancellorsville, which, although not a defeat of the Union army, nevertheless resulted, on account of several uncontrollable causes, in the necessary withdrawal of our forces to their former position on the left bank of the Rappahannock, General Lee, of the Rebel army, determined to invade the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania. He seems to have been induced to enter upon this perilous undertaking by several considerations. First, he felt the increasing deficiency of cavalry and artillery horses, and the means of subsisting his army in an almost desolate territory from which he had hitherto drawn his supplies; secondly, there was the alleged demoralization of Gen. Hooker's army after that battle; thirdly, there was the evident fact of

the depletion of the Union army, by the return to their homes of a number of regiments whose term of service had expired; and fourthly, there was the apparent division of sentiment in the loyal States, in regard to the conduct and continuance of the war, and the strong undercurrent of sympathy manifested for the success of the rebellion, engendered by an intense partisan feeling and the desire of office. Of this division of sentiment he now determined to take advantage, for he hoped to find us as incoherent as a rope of sand, and utterly unable to resist his progress as he swept over the land. And, unquestionably, for some time it did appear as if his cherished hopes would be realized; for, when he was about to cross the Potomac, evidently endeavoring to feel his way, such was the apparent apathy that prevailed amongst the people who were most in danger, that it was almost impossible to arouse them to realize their true situation, and to organize in the defence of their homes.

So hopeful were the leaders of the rebellion in the success of this, their project, that they did not deem it necessary to keep their intentions a secret. Many weeks before their attempted invasion, their newspapers freely referred to it as an event that would surely happen, and boasted loudly of the manner in which they would fatten on the spoils they would take from the rich farmers and well-filled storehouses of the North.

At an early day, Lee began to arrange and perfect his plans, and to

remodel and strengthen his army; so that, when his preparations were completed, he found himself at the head of one of the best disciplined and most reliable armies the world ever saw. With this he hoped to sweep, like a whirlwind, over the fairest portion of our noble State.

Unmistakable signs of the coming storm began to accumulate. Informed that an advance movement was about to be made, General Hooker directed that a cavalry attack should be made by General Pleasanton against General Stuart at Beverly Ford. This attack, which was made June 9th, resulted advantageously to the Federal arms; and especially in the capture of Stuart's private papers, amongst which were found orders for an immediate advance into Pennsylvania. This was a fortunate event, since it enabled Hooker immediately to put his army in motion, so as to prevent Lee, who had already several days' start, from flanking him, and coming in between him and Washington or Baltimore. By hard marches, the Union army advanced so rapidly as always to be on the flanks of Lee, and to prevent him, eventually, from carrying out his purposes.

Forewarned of the approach of the invading army, the War Department, on the 11th of June, assigned Major General D. N. Couch to the Department of the Susquehanna, with his headquarters at Harrisburg; and Major-General W. T. H. Brooks to the Department of the Mononga-

hela, with his headquarters at Pittsburg. On the next day were issued a proclamation of Governor Curtin, and a call of General Couch, addressed to the people of Pennsylvania, urging them to organize and to hasten to the defense of the State, and, if possible, to drive back the invader before he should touch our soil.

On the 13th of June, the Rebels reached Winchester, Virginia, and gave battle to General Milroy, who occupied that post with a force of 8,000 or 9,000 men. On that day the Rebels were repulsed; but on the next day they renewed the attack, in which they were feebly resisted by our forces, and which resulted in the hasty flight of Milroy and his whole command. He lost nearly all his ammunition and artillery, and a small portion of his men. He succeeded in taking several hundred with him to Harper's Ferry, and in running his baggage train, by Hagerstown and Chambersburg, to Harrisburg. About 2,000 infantry stragglers and cavalry succeeded in breaking through, and effecting their escape to Bloody Run, Pennsylvania, where they were reorganized and joined by recruits from the Pennsylvania militia.

The Rebel cavalry, 1,600 in number, under the notorious General Jenkins, entered Hagerstown on the 15th of June, at 10:30 A. M., in pursuit of Milroy's wagon train, and, moving onward rapidly, they reached Chambersburg at 10:30 P. M. Having thus advanced far into an enemy's

country without a support sufficiently near, and fearing an attack by our men, who were beginning to organize in obedience to the Governor's call, they deemed it prudent to make a retrograde movement. Accordingly, they evacuated Chambersburg on the 17th of June; and as they had already gathered a large number of horses and cattle, which they had taken violently and without compensation from the farmers, it was vainly supposed by many of our people, that they now intended to withdraw with their booty across the Potomac. They, however, retired only to the vicinity of Hagerstown, there to await the arrival of Lee's army.

Previous to Saturday, the 20th of June, portions of Jenkins' party had advanced as far as Waynesboro', Franklin county. Pennsylvania, robbing the inhabitants of horses, and of whatsoever else they saw fit to take or to destroy. These, and other acts, some of which consisted in a most wanton destruction of articles of no value whatsoever to them, they perpetrated in the face of their oft-repeated assurance, that private property would be respected, that private citizens should not be molested, and that *they* would show themselves not to be such barbarians as the Yankees had done whilst in their country. They must have supposed us to be exceedingly stupid, if they thought that our people could not penetrate the shallow hypocrisy of these honeyed words. After they had overrun and robbed the country west of the South Moun-

tain, and thoroughly searched its numerous valleys for horses, which, they had been informed by disloyal citizens, had been secreted there, they came down the southeastern flanks of the mountain in search of booty.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20.

On the morning of this day, Major Haller, of the United States Infantry, who, having been sent by General Couch, arrived at Gettysburg on the previous evening, addressed a public meeting at the Court-house, advising all able-bodied male citizens to arm themselves and to be ready, at a moment's warning, for the defence of their homes and of the State. On that day, a beginning was made in the formation of a cavalry company, under Captain R. Bell, and there was some reconnoitering by scouts and a few of our citizens. An effort to form an infantry company, and to arouse the people generally, did not prove successful. This failure was owing, at least on the part of the great majority, not so much to an unwillingness to engage in the efforts to resist the progress of the enemy, as to a reluctance to desert their homes and their families in the hour of danger, whilst they went to defend the less exposed parts of the State; for it was soon apparent that the military authorities at Harrisburg, losing sight of the particular, and looking to the good of the whole, intended, in the beginning at least, to make the Susquehanna the base of defence

against the invaders, whilst, for the border towns and country, no immediate adequate protection could be provided. For this seeming neglect there were not wanting some who soundly abused the Government. Then, too, some were unwilling, from political motives, either to go themselves, or to suffer their friends to go into an organization which might seem to be a support of the Administration, or which might, perhaps, cause their absence from home at the time of the Fall election. Some also, who were brave and patriotic in words, could not make up their minds to expose themselves to the hardships of camp-life, and to the perils of the battle-field. On the Wednesday preceding (June 17), however, a company of infantry, consisting of 60 students of Pennsylvania College, together with several from the Theological Seminary, and a few citizens, under Captain F. Kleinfelter, a theological student, left for Harrisburg, in obedience to the urgent call of the Governor, and were the first to be mustered into the service "for the emergency." In fact, previous to this date very little progress had been made in the needful preparations for the defences even of the Capital. A beginning had indeed been made, as early as the 15th of June, in the construction of breastworks and the digging of rifle-pits along the river front, and on the opposite bank; but the work went on slowly, and it is questionable whether, when the Rebels approached nearest the river, on Sunday, June 28th, Harrisburg might

tot have been easily taken. It was difficult to move the people—for, although many companies and regiments, amongst whom were several from New York and New Jersey, reported themselves at the seat of government, it was not until the enemy was at our very doors, and three days before the battle of Gettysburg was begun, that the people began to realize the magnitude of their danger, and Philadelphia, which was a most tempting bait for the invaders, began to pour forth her men and treasures in real earnest.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21.

Early on this morning, the Philadelphia City Troop, consisting of about 40 members, arrived at Gettysburg, affording us evidence that the border was not entirely forgotten. These, together with Bell's cavalry and some citizens, made a reconnoissance in the South Mountain as far as Monterey. They there came up to the Rebel pickets, with whom they exchanged some shots. At 6 P. M., about 120 Rebel cavalry entered Fairfield, and retired again by the Furnace road at 7 P. M., taking with them all the good horses they could find.

MONDAY, JUNE 22.

Ewell's corps crossed the Potomac to-day, one portion crossing at

Shepherdstown, and another at Williamsport. The whole met and united at Hagerstown, whence they again diverged in their progress up the valley, towards Chambersburg.

The Pennsylvania and New York militia, as they reached Harrisburg, had been, as soon as practicable, organized by General Couch in two divisions, one under General Smith, the other under General Dana. On Saturday, the 20th of June, previous to General Smith's being put in command, General Knipe was sent up the valley from Harrisburg with two New York regiments, numbering about 800 men; first to reconstruct the railroad bridge at Scotland, which the Rebels had burned, and then to occupy and defend Chambersburg. Having, however, been apprised of the approach of Rhodes' division of Ewell's corps, and being unprepared to meet the large force of the enemy which would soon be precipitated upon him, he deemed it advisable, late in the evening of this day, to evacuate the town, and gradually to move down the valley again.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23.

During the forenoon of this day, General Rhodes' division entered and occupied Chambersburg. During this and the previous day, various reconnoissances were also made from Gettysburg by Bell's cavalry and the City Troop, the former having now assumed an organized form. But

although Major Haller, who was acting under instructions from General Couch, for the purpose of maturing the necessary preparations for the defence of this part of the border of the State, seemed to be active and industrious, very little of any value was actually accomplished in that respect. It would not be easy to assign the precise measure of blame, if any, due to any men or set of men, for this unfortunate state of things. The people, bewildered under circumstances so new and peculiar, and having no prospect of a sufficient military support, did not know what to do ; and thus, while their minds were swaying to and fro between hope and fear, the golden opportunity for efficient preparation passed away.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

On the evening of this day, the 26th regiment, P. V. M., numbering 735 men, of which company A was almost wholly composed of students from Pennsylvania College, was sent to Gettysburg for the purpose of helping to hold the enemy in check ; but as the cars in which they were coming were thrown from the track, at a point six miles below Gettysburg, they encamped, and remained there until Friday morning.

A. P. Hill's corps also crossed the Potomac to-day, at a point one mile above Shepherdstown, Anderson being in the advance.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

Late on Thursday evening, however, 100 picked men from the 26th regiment were ordered up from their encampment to Gettysburg, with the design of sending them to the mountain as sharpshooters or bushwhackers, in order to cut off the Rebel pickets, who, according to information then received, extended down the southeastern flanks of the mountain, and were making gradual approaches towards our town. But the heavy rain of that night caused them to be detained until the balance of the regiment arrived, and thus they were saved from almost certain capture or destruction.

The Rebels, under Rhodes, also to-day advanced as far as Shippensburg, on their way to Harrisburg.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

The 26th regiment arrived at Gettysburg, from their camping-ground, at 9 A. M., and, by order of Major Haller, although contrary to the earnest remonstrances of Jennings, Colonel of the regiment, was sent forward at 10:30 A. M., on the Chambersburg turnpike. This was a suicidal movement of a handful, chiefly of inexperienced men, in the face of a large body of experienced troops. The Rebels afterwards laughed at the folly of the order. But advancing to the distance of about three miles

westward, our little band encamped, and threw out their pickets. At about 3 p. m., the Rebels in force made their appearance, and captured nearly all their pickets, 40 in number. Colonel Jennings, who had, on several occasions, shown himself to be an officer as skillful as he is cool and brave, seeing the trap into which he had been led, immediately, upon sight of the enemy, divided the regiment into three squads, in order to deceive them with the appearance of a large body of infantry. The deception proved so far successful that the Rebels did not press them, fearing that a direct attack might prove more serious than a mere skirmish. Jennings' band, however, hastily retreated eastward over the fields, and by country roads, occasionally skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, which was sent in pursuit of them; and after losing 120 more of their number near Hunterstown, and zigzagging very frequently, being often within hearing distance of their pursuers, they reached Harrisburg on Sunday, the 28th of June, much fatigued, having marched 54 out of 60 continuous hours. Too much praise cannot be awarded Colonel Jennings for the skillful manner in which he conducted this retreat and saved the regiment from capture.

The advance guard of the enemy, consisting of 180 to 200 cavalry, rode into Gettysburg at 3:15 p. m., shouting and yelling like so many savages from the wilds of the Rocky Mountains; firing their pistols, not

caring whether they killed or maimed man, woman, or child; and rushing from stable to stable in search of horses, the most of which, however, had fortunately a few hours before been sent forward to Hanover and York.

This advance party was soon followed by 5,000 infantry, being General Gordon's brigade of Early's division of Ewell's corps. Most of the men were exceedingly dirty, some ragged, some without shoes, and some surmounted by the skeleton of what was once an entire hat, affording unmistakable evidence that they stood in great need of having their scanty wardrobe replenished; and hence the eagerness with which they inquired after shoe, hat and clothing stores, and their disappointment when they were informed that goods of that description were not to be had in town; and it ought not to have surprised us that they actually took shoes and hats from the persons of some of our Franklin county cousins, whom they considered more able to endure the loss than we, whilst they permitted us to escape that infliction. Being wet from the rain which had fallen during the most of the day, and considerably heated by a long march, there was found, by a person near them as they passed, to have been more truth than fiction in the remark of a friend, that "the air was filled with the filthy exhalations from their bodies." Whether this was a judgment dictated by prejudice, or not, it was difficult for

to recognize, in the great body of them, the character previously heralded in our community, by a lady sympathizer, of "chivalrous Southerners, all from the first families of the South." But we do not intend to reproach them for not presenting a better appearance; they doubtless did the best they could, and had come a long journey for the express purpose of supplying their pressing wants.

General Early, who accompanied this brigade, and remained in town over Friday night, demanded of the authorities of our borough 1,200 pounds of sugar, 600 pounds of coffee, 60 barrels of flour, 1,000 pounds of salt, 7,000 pounds of bacon, 10 barrels of whisky, 10 barrels of onions, 1,000 pairs of shoes, and 500 hats, amounting in value to \$6,000; or, in lieu thereof, \$5,000 cash. To this demand Messrs. D. Kendlehart and A. D. Buehler, as representatives of the town council, replied in substance, that it was impossible to comply with their demands; that the goods were not in town or within reach; that the borough had no funds, and the council had no authority to borrow either in the name of the borough or county; and that, as we were at the mercy of the General and his men, they could search, and take from citizens and the empty stores whatsoever they might be able to find. No attempt was made to enforce the requisition, and but few of the houses of citizens were robbed. Whether this forbearance was owing to the evident fact that he was out-

witted by our citizens, or from his generosity to our apparent poverty, we will permit our York friends to judge, to whom he is reported to have replied, when, as a reason why he should not insist on the enforcement of the large demand he had made of them, they reminded him of his leniency towards us, "Why, gentlemen, there was nothing there to take." Be it so: Gettysburg escaped; and York paid a premium of \$28,000. During the evening of Friday, however, the Rebels burned the railroad bridge and a few cars, took from the few articles that our merchants had not sent away such as suited them, and divested the taverns and liquor stores of their liquors. Besides this, they did not do much damage in the town. In the country, however, they treated the farmers less gently. They there re-enacted their old farce of professing to pay for what they took, by offering freely their worthless "Confederate" scrip; which, they said, would, in a few days, be better than our own currency. In the town they obtained but little booty, because all the valuables of the Bank, and nearly all those of the merchants, had been previously sent for safety to Philadelphia. This proved a great disappointment to them; and they acknowledged that, for this time, they had been too slow in their movements. They consequently hurried forward, that night and the next morning, towards Hanover and York. A portion of them passed through Hanover at 11 A. M., reaching the Northern Central Railroad at

Hanover Junction, early in the afternoon, whilst another portion went to East Berlin, and on the next day, Sunday, reached York.

Our citizens, with a few exceptions, kept at a respectful distance from them during their stay amongst us, avoiding as much as possible communicating any information which might prove advantageous to them; so much so, that they said: "It is very strange that you people know so little."

SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

Whilst the Rebels were going to Hanover and to Hanover Junction, to destroy the bridges and rolling stock of the Northern Central Railroad, three scouts of our advance cavalry, near Emmitsburg, came dashing into town, at 9:30 A. M., to our great joy. We felt that we were once more within the Federal lines, and more than one person exclaimed, "Thank God for that." Two despatch-bearers, one of whom was a chaplain, sent by General Ewell, then at Shippensburg, to General Early, were captured in our streets by these scouts. The purport of their despatches was, that General Early should not advance his division too rapidly, as that might be attended with some danger, in an enemy's country. In fact, some of Early's men were overheard, in the streets of Gettysburg, early on this morning, to say to each other, that they were

afraid that they had ventured too far into Pennsylvania, and had been led into a trap.

On this day, A. P. Hill's corps reached Chambersburg, and thence went to Fayetteville, where they halted until Tuesday, the 30th of June.

SUNDAY, JUNE 28.

Two regiments of Federal cavalry, numbering about 2,000, under the command of General Copeland, entered our village from the direction of Emmittsburg, at 12 M., amidst the rejoicings of the people, who distributed bread and pies amongst them, whilst some of the youth sang patriotic songs. They encamped east of the town, until the next morning, when they all left, and moved towards Littlestown. They had been sent forward on a reconnoissance. At Fairfield, there was a slight skirmish between the Rebels and some of our cavalry.

On this evening, the camp-fires of an advance party of A. P. Hill, then halting at Fayetteville, were to be seen on the eastern slope of the mountain, about a mile above Cashtown.

General Early to-day also entered and occupied York. A portion of his command was sent forward to Wrightsville, probably to take and hold the Columbia bridge. A skirmish took place between them and some of our troops under Colonel Frick. The Colonel, finding that he

would not be able to drive them off, and hold the bridge, crossed over to Columbia, and permitted the bridge to be consigned to the flames; thus cutting off their hope of crossing the river at this point, and ravaging the portion of the State east of the Susquehanna. Whilst they destroyed the bridges of the Northern Central Railroad, they forebore destroying the depot, and other railroad property located in the town of York, only because such an act might lead to a general conflagration of the town; which they had pledged themselves to spare, in consideration of the bonus paid them by its citizens. A skirmish also took place at Oyster's Point, three miles from Harrisburg, with no further result than that the Rebels retired.

MONDAY, JUNE 29.

General Longstreet's corps having crossed the Potomac, at Williamsport, and followed those of Ewell and Hill, reached Fayetteville on this day. We now began to see that the invading army was concentrating itself on the turnpike road leading through Gettysburg to Baltimore. At the same time, also, the Union army was gradually moving towards a point near our village. This, then, was the focus towards which all these hostile rays tended, and at which they at length became concentrated.

The Rebel encampments, by the aid of a field-glass, were seen to

have been considerably enlarged Hill had thrown a large portion of his corps, probably the whole of Heth's division, over the mountain. Until the day of the battle, these were employed in foraging and gathering provisions for the army amongst the farmers in the vicinity of Cashtown. They seized beef cattle, flour, and grain, took possession of the mills near at hand, for the purpose of grinding the stolen grain, and compelled the farmers' wives to bake the flour into bread. They were thus gathering stores, resting, and feeding themselves and their animals, and placing themselves in readiness for an encounter with our forces.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30.

At 9:30 A. M., a portion of Hill's corps advanced on the Chambersburg turnpike, as far as the crest of the Seminary hill, one-half of a mile northwest of Gettysburg, throwing about two dozen of infantry pickets as far down as Mr. Shead's house. Several officers on horseback were seen reconnoitering with their field-glasses, and engaged in conversation with the people residing near the road on the hill, eliciting, no doubt, as much information as they could obtain. They brought with them twenty-seven wagons, probably with the intention of coming to town and robbing us of such merchandise and provisions as might have been gathered or

brought to light since Early's raid. They were also accompanied with artillery, and thus came prepared for any resistance which they might encounter. This was also, perhaps, intended to be a reconnoissance in force, or a movement for the purpose of taking possession of Gettysburg. There must have been several thousand men in this advance, for their line of march extended at least a mile and a half in length. At 10:30 A.M. they again withdrew towards Cashtown, undoubtedly aware of the near approach of General Buford's Federal cavalry, which arrived in about an hour afterwards. This is shown to be highly probable, by the fact that they attempted to form a decoy for him at Marsh creek, where two regiments defiled under cover of a hill, one to the right of the road, the other to the left, whilst a third was sent a short distance forward to induce pursuit by our men. In this position they remained for about two hours, after which they withdrew farther towards their camp.

At 11:30 A. M., six thousand Federal cavalry, under General Buford, arrived, passing through Washington street to the Chambersburg turnpike, and by it one mile and a half northwestward, as far as Hon. E. McPherson's farm, where the larger portion encamped, and placed their artillery in position. During the afternoon, the first corps of infantry, numbering about eight thousand men, under General Reynolds, came from Emmitsburg to the right bank of Marsh creek, six and a half miles

southwest of Gettysburg, and encamped there for the night, whilst the Eleventh and Third corps remained at Emmittsburg.

By order of General Lee, Hill's corps—consisting of three divisions, in the following order: General Heth, 10,000; Pender, 10,000; and Anderson, 15,000—were moved to the vicinity of Marsh creek. On this day Longstreet's corps followed, in the order of: first, McLaws, 12,000; then Hood, 12,000, whilst Pickett, 7,000, delayed until Thursday, at Chambersburg, to protect the rear and the wagon trains. Two divisions also of Ewell's corps, viz.: Rhodes' and Early's, the former numbering 10,000 men, and the latter 9,000, according to Rebel accounts, had encamped for the night at Heidlersburg, nine miles from Gettysburg, whilst the Third, Johnston's, 12,000, had been delayed at Fayetteville. Thus there were encamped, that night, within a short distance of our town, 23,000 Union infantry, and 6,000 cavalry—29,000; and 76,000 Rebel infantry, and a large number of cavalry, ready to meet each other in deadly conflict on the next day.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1.

At 9:30 A. M., skirmishing began between Buford's dismounted cavalry and the advancing Rebels; and at 10 A. M., the artillery was brought into play. In half an hour the First corps began to come up, General

Reynolds dashing through the town, whilst his men moved over the fields from the Emmittsburg road, in front of McMillan's and Dr. Schmucker's, under cover of the Seminary hill. The *right* moved to the east of the turnpike and railroad, and formed a line of battle behind a grove, and the *left* formed on the crest of the hill near the Seminary. Both wings then advanced, and the cavalry gradually fell back to the rear. The extreme right rested on the Chambersburg turnpike, and that of the left on the Hagerstown road. For two hours these eight thousand men stood like a wall against a powerful enemy, glorying in his strength. In the Rebel advance was Heth, with his ten thousand men—they pressed upon our right. Later came Pender with as many more, and pressed our left. But though the enemy attacked us with two men to our one, our left was able, during the forenoon, and until 3 p. m., not only to hold its own, but to drive back the enemy in their fearful charges; and in an effort of General Archer to flank and capture one of our brigades, the Iron Brigade captured him and his whole brigade, now reduced to about 1,500 men. This took place in the rear of the Seminary, near Willoughby's run, at about the middle of the day. The right, which was comparatively weak, having been opposed by a much stronger force, although holding its position for a long while, was several times driven back through the grove and adjacent fields, down to the eastern base of the Seminary

ridge. It lost heavily in killed and wounded. During these alternate advance and backward movements, it lost, at one time, 1,900 prisoners, which were afterwards retaken, and took of Davis' Mississippi brigade eight hundred prisoners, who were sent to our rear.

It soon became apparent that our right was the main object of the enemy's attack. As early as 10 A. M., the divisions of Rhodes and Early had moved from Heidlersburg, by a rapid march, to within a short distance of our right, and formed in a suitable manner in a secluded valley, and under cover of a hill, for the purpose of supporting Heth, and making a flank movement on our men. Rhodes' division, which was in the advance, entered the fight about noon; Early's did not participate until after 2 P. M. Our little Spartan band, being so hard pressed, was about giving away on our right, when a portion of the Eleventh corps, which had just then arrived, came to its support. At 1 P. M., two divisions of this corps, under Generals Schurz and Barlow, hurried through the town, and took position on our extreme right, resting on the Mummasburg road, and by their support the tide of battle was stayed, until Early's division took part in the fight. The other division of the Eleventh corps, under General Steinwehr, by the prudent forethought and wise generalship of General Howard, was at once sent forward to occupy Cemetery hill, on the south of the town, and to provide for the con-

tingency which happened three hours afterwards, and which he must have foreseen. Early in the morning the hills surrounding Gettysburg had been carefully examined by the General and his signal officers. At 8:30 A. M., one of these officers was on the College cupola making observations, when his attention was specially directed to that hill by one of the officers of the College, as being of the highest strategic importance, and commanding the whole country around for many miles. Doubtless he had satisfied himself of the pre-eminent advantages it offered as a position of offence and defence, and therefore determined to take and hold it. To his happy forethought we may, in a great measure, under God, attribute the favorable results of the battles of the two succeeding days.

After Early's division had entered the fight, it soon became evident that our right would be turned, and that our men must retire, or all be killed or captured; It was evident that the First corps and the two divisions of the Eleventh corps, numbering together not more than sixteen to eighteen thousand men, could not long stand before the forty thousand of Heth, Pender, Rhodes and Early, combined. Before, however, the ordinary observer would have thought of retreat, General Howard ordered the heavy artillery to be removed to the Cemetery hill, and a proper disposition of Steinwehr's division to be made, with a view of supporting our retiring men. As the pressure of the advancing columns of the

enemy became greater, our men were forced to yield before them. The First corps, for the most part, fell back through the southwestern outskirts of the town, and took position on the left and rear of Steinwehr; whilst the Eleventh mostly crowded through Washington and Baltimore streets to the Cemetery hill, and took position in the front and on the right centre. Being very much crowded in passing through the streets, and somewhat confused, they were unable to repel the enemy who were pressing hard upon them; and, as a consequence about 2,500 were taken prisoners.

Almost in the very beginning of the engagement, General Reynold's fell a victim to his cool bravery and zeal. As was his custom, he rode in front of his men, placing them in position and urging them to the fight, when he was shot through the head, as was supposed, by a Rebel sharp-shooter, and died shortly afterwards. He has been charged with rashness, with foolhardiness, and with prematurely bringing on the battle. But it would, perhaps, be more just to say that he had but little direct agency in bringing it on; that it was unavoidable; that it was forced on us by the Rebels; that if they had not been held in check that day, they would have pressed on and obtained the impregnable position which we were enabled to hold; and that, most of all, the hand of Providence, who gave us at last a signal victory, was in the arrangements of that day. After

the fall of General Reynolds, the chief command devolved on General Howard, who had arrived in advance of his corps.

During the fight of the first day, which lasted from 9:30 A. M. to 4 P. M., our killed, wounded, and prisoners greatly exceeded in number that of the enemy. They called it a glorious victory; but, considering the disparity of numbers, and the relative condition of the men—theirs being fresh, and ours wearied by hard marching—they had not much reason to boast.

At the close of the fight, Ewell's corps occupied the town, and formed a line thence southeast to Rock creek; Rhodes' division lay on the right, occupying Middle street as far west as the Seminary hill; Early lay on the southeast of the town; and Johnson, who did not arrive until Thursday, occupied the extreme left of the line. It was Gordon's and Hay's brigades of Early's division, of which the former had paid us a visit on the Friday preceding, that pressed our men through the eastern part of the town. Hill's corps took position on the Seminary ridge, in the following order: on the left, and resting on the Chambersburg turnpike, was Heth; next came Pender; and then Anderson, who had halted too long at Cashtown to participate in the fight of to-day. McLaws' division of Longstreet's corps, which also came late on Wednesday, was advanced still farther to the right. On the next morning, when Hood's

division of the same corps came, it took a position to the right of McLaws'. (See the accompanying map, from which it will appear that this was substantially the disposition of the Rebel forces on Thursday, July 2.)

That portion of Rhodes' division which lay down before our dwelling for the night, was greatly elated with the results of the first day's battle. And the same may be said of the whole Rebel army. They were anxious to engage in conversation—to communicate their views and feelings, and to elicit ours. They were boastful of themselves, of their cause, and of the skill of their officers; and were anxious to tell us of the unskillful manner in which some of our officers had conducted the fight which had just closed. When informed that General Archer and 1,500 of his men had been captured, they said, "To-morrow we will take all these back again; and having already taken five thousand (!) prisoners of you to-day, we will take the balance of your men to-morrow." Having been *well fed, provisioned, and rested*, and successful on this day, their confidence knew no bounds; they felt assured that they would be able, with perfect ease, to cut up our army in detail,—fatigued as it was by long marches and yet scattered, for only two corps had as yet arrived. Resting under this impression they lay down joyfully on the night of the first day.

What the feeling of our little army, as yet consisting of only two corps, was on Wednesday evening, we are unable to state. To us it seemed as if the Rebels would really be able to accomplish their boast. We were disheartened, and almost in despair. But our men, who, whilst retreating through the town, seemed to be confused and frightened, coolly and quietly fell into position on the hill, when they found themselves supported by two lines of battle formed by Steinwehr, and by a sufficiency of artillery already in place. They saw the pursuing Rebels suddenly brought to a stand by the raking fire poured into them by our men on the hill.

Soon after the battle had begun, the residents of the west end of the town were advised by General Reynolds to leave their residences, that the shot and shell of the enemy might not reach and injure them, and to retire to a position to the north and east of the borough. Some, who in accordance with this advice left their houses, found to their sorrow, when afterwards they returned, that they had been pillaged by the Rebels during their absence; whilst most of those who remained at home during the battles of the three days, were enabled to save their property from indiscriminate robbery and destruction. Whilst actual fighting was going on, many of the women and children went into the cellars as places of greatest security; and nothing can be more remote from the

truth than the gratuitous slander put forth by some reckless newspaper scribblers, and extensively published abroad, that the male inhabitants ran off like a set of cowards, and permitted the women and children to do as best they could. The truth requires us to state that only a few of the male inhabitants were absent from home, and *they* were either Government officers, or such as had gone away with their goods or horses to places of security. No one, as far as we know, had forsaken his home and family through fear or cowardice.

THURSDAY, JULY 2.

Wednesday night and Thursday morning were devoted, by both armies, mostly to making active preparations and arrangements for a renewal of the terrible and bloody conflict. Breastworks were constructed, rifle-pits dug, and artillery and the different corps placed in position.

General Slocum arrived with the Twelfth corps at 7 p. m. General Howard still retained the chief command, until the arrival of General Meade, early in the morning (1 o'clock a. m.) General Meade entirely approved the act of General Howard in the selection of his position. General Slocum immediately placed his corps on the right flank; the second division, under General Geary, occupying Culp's hill; the first, under General Williams, taking position near Spangler's spring, and the

third being thrown across Rock creek to Wolf hill. Soon after the arrival of the Twelfth corps came the Third, under General Sickles; and at 7 A. M. came Hancock, with the Second corps and the Reserve Artillery. Sickles at first took position on our left centre, but when Hancock came he took the place of Sickles, whilst the latter moved his corps to our extreme left, resting on the rocky ridge immediately north of Round Top, and generally called Little Round Top. At between 4 and 5 P. M., two brigades of the Pennsylvania Reserves, under General Crawford, now attached to the Fifth corps, reached the battle-field, the balance of their corps, under General Sykes, having arrived in the morning; and at about sunset came the Sixth corps, under General Sedgwick, and Lockwood's brigade, from Maryland, which was temporarily attached to the Twelfth corps. (For the positions of these several corps the reader will do well to consult the accompanying map.)

Early on Thursday morning the Rebels began to give evidence of an impression on their part, thht they might possibly have some hard work to do on that day, although, on the previous evening they had spoken so lightly of it. They had ascertained that our little band had been strongly reinforced during the night and early morning. They commenced barricading Middle street, on its south side, from the Seminary ridge on the

west to Stratton street on the east; they also broke down the fences on the north side, in order to enable them to bring up reinforcements and send back their men, without subjecting them to a raking street fire from ours, the houses and stables serving as a protection to them. On the previous evening they had expected to attack and cut up our army in detail. But as the great body of the army of the Potomac had already arrived, this hope had vanished, and they saw that the contest would be a hard and bloody one between the two armies in their united strength.

The morning was pleasant, the air was calm, the sun shone mildly through a smoky atmosphere, and the whole outer world was quiet and peaceful.—there was nothing to foretoken the sanguinary struggle that was to close the day. During the earlier part of the day the enemy kept perfectly quiet, and not a sound was to be heard, except the firing between the pickets, and an occasional artillery shot from our guns, for the purpose of feeling the whereabouts and the strength of the enemy.

Having perfected his plans in silence, at twenty minutes past 4 p. m. the enemy began the battle of the 2d, by opening a terrific artillery fire upon our guns, and soon afterwards by an infantry attack upon our left. It had been suspected, from some indications, that he was meditating a decisive stroke on this wing. It became the duty of Sickles to break the ominous silence, by throwing himself in the way of the Rebels, and, if

possible, to frustrate their scheme. Soon the cannonading became general along our left and centre, answered by the guns of the Rebels, of which more than one hundred were placed in a circuit of more than three miles, on the Seminary ridge round to the Harrisburg road, and on the hills to the east of the town. Sickles' corps, supported by a portion of the Second, went forward with determination to meet the advancing enemy, and engaged them in a most terrific struggle at Sherfy's peach orchard and the adjoining grounds, near the Emmittsburg road. Both parties fought with a desperate determination to win, but at last Sickles' men began to give away. Rallied by him in person, they arrested and hurled back the advancing column for a short time; but finding themselves opposed by an overwhelming mass of the enemy, consisting of Anderson's and McLaws' divisions, numbering about twenty-six thousand men, and being hard pressed, they gave way a second time. This was a most critical moment for our army. The point aimed at by the enemy was to break our left and flank us; and this they would be able to accomplish, if succor would not arrive speedily. The Fifth corps of Sykes, arriving at this juncture, 5 P. M., was brought into action by a cross-road leading from the Taneytown to the Emmittsburg road at Sherfy's peach orchard, and passing to the north of Little Round Top. But even with this support, and other aid that was sent over from our

right during the terrific struggle, the enemy were near being successful. Four pieces of Bigelow's battery were taken, after having expended all his grape, but afterwards they were recovered. The enemy had driven our men before them, and, endeavoring to come in between Round Top and Little Round Top, they were advancing toward the latter. At 6 P. M. General Crawford's division of the Fifth corps, consisting of two brigades of Pennsylvania Reserves, having until this time been held in reserve, went into a charge with a terrific shout, and drove the Rebels down the rocky front of that hill, across the valley below, and over the next hill into the woods beyond, taking three hundred prisoners. This was the favorable moment, and the whole Rebel column was forced to retire. Our left was saved from disaster; the fight, on that part of our lines, was gloriously ended for the day, and Little Round Top was ours. It is true our line, which, in the morning, had rested on or near the Emmitsburg road, had receded one-third of a mile, but the enemy had been signally repulsed; he was foiled in his plans, and our men firmly held that natural fortress, Little Round Top. The front of this our men immediately began to cover with a network of breastworks, and on the summit they placed twelve 30-pound Parrott guns. When the next morning dawned, it was a second Gibraltar. The Pennsylvania Reserves, of whom one company was from our town and county and fought in sight of their

homes, did most effective service under General Crawford, and held this strong-hold for forty-five hours, until the close of the battle. The fighting here ended at 6:30 p. m. On this day, the Rebel General Barksdale fell near Hancock's extreme left.

Scarcely had the tumult of battle ended on our *left*, when it was renewed on our *right*. Previous to that hour there had been some sharp fighting on this part of the line, for a short time, but it had ceased. Ewell, who, it is said, had sworn that he would take and hold, at all hazards, the hill east of the Baltimore turnpike, on which our right was resting, began to mass his men in that vicinity. Rhodes' division was hurried forward from the west end of the town to unite with Early's and Johnson's (then arrived from Carlisle), already near the scene of action, and at 7 p. m. Ewell was ready for the attack. Early attacked that portion of the Eleventh corps lying on the flank of the northeastern knob of Cemetery hill, and resting near a stone wall which extended southward from Houck's brick-yard, for the purpose of breaking our center and capturing our guns. One portion moved obliquely across the brow of a hill, behind which they were lying, and came up in front of the wall, whilst another moved up a low valley stretching from Rock creek along the northern flank of Culp's hill. To the Louisiana Tigers was committed the perilous task of making the charge upon the guns. They dashed for-

ward with furious determination, and although they lost half their men in killed and wounded, some rushed over the wall up to the cannon, which were then too hot to be worked, and cried "surrender," but were beaten off by the gunners with clubs and stones. If they had been victorious in this charge, the battle would have been lost to us. But the enemy was successfully met, slaughtered in great numbers, and driven back with terrible loss.

Ewell had directed a similar attack to be made, at the same time, against the Twelfth corps, in the rear of Culp's hill, through a valley leading up from Rock creek towards Spangler's spring. It is possible that he may have known what force we had there to oppose him—he may have anticipated that, during the quiet of that vicinity, Meade had sent a portion of our men to support those who were pressed so fearfully on our left, and he consequently may have felt certain of an easy victory. Two divisions of the Twelfth corps formed our right flank west of Rock creek; the first, under General Williams, was located near the creek, and the second under General Geary, occupied Culp's hill. Only one brigade, the third, under General Greene, remained of Geary's division, the other two, the first and second, not having yet returned from the conflict on our left. The enemy came up under cover of the forest and approaching darkness, as if to the accomplishment of an easy task. With desperate

courage Greene's brigade received them, literally covering the hills, in front of our works, with the wounded and dead. The scarred timber in the vicinity well attests the obstinacy and effectiveness with which our men fought. The enemy's loss was fearful—compared with ours, it was eight to one. In one of our regiments there was only one man wounded. Never did men fight with greater determination to be the victors. From 7 to 9:30 P. M. the roar of musketry was continuous, and so terrible as to make the very earth quake.

But whilst General Greene succeeded, on his part of the line, in staying and hurling back the advancing columns of the enemy, that part near Spangler's spring was left without adequate defence by the temporary withdrawal of the first and second brigades. There the Rebels were successful in crossing our works, and advancing to a point within a short distance of the Baltimore turnpike. This might have proved disastrous to us had it not occurred at so late an hour, and had they not been apprehensive of falling into a trap if they should advance further. With this exception, Thursday ended with decided advantages to the Union army. The enemy was finally repulsed on the left, and he met with heavy losses on both flanks, but especially in the last charges he made on our right.

To us, however, who were at the time within the Rebel lines, the result seemed doubtful; and gloomy forbodings filled our minds as we

laid ourselves down to catch, if possible, a little sleep. The unearthly yells of the exultant and defiant enemy had, during the afternoon, been frequently heard, even amidst the almost deafening sounds of exploding cannon, of screaming and bursting shells, and of the continuous roar of musketry; and it seemed to us, judging from the character and direction of these mingled noises, that the enemy had been gaining essentially on our flanks. At about 6 P. M., it is true, we heard "cheering" different from that which had so often fallen dolefully upon our ears; and some of the Rebels said to each other, "Listen! the Yankees are cheering." But whilst this—which we afterwards found to have been the cheering of General Crawford's men, as they charged and drove the Rebels down the face of Little Round Top—afforded us a temporary encouragement, the movement of Rhodes' division, which we saw hurried forward on a "double-quick" for the purpose of uniting in a combined attack upon our right center and flank, the incessant and prolonged musketry fire, and the gradual cessation of the reports of our artillery on Cemetery hill, caused us to fear that our men had been badly beaten, and that our guns had either been captured or driven back from the advantageous position they had occupied. The battle ceased, and the outer world sank into "its usual repose;" but we lay down, not to sleep, but to indulge in sad and gloomy reflections. Intensely anxious to know, we had no

means of finding out the relative condition of the two armies; and, "like drowning men," we were ready "to catch at straws."

The Rebels returned again to our streets at 10 p. m., and prepared their supper; and soon we began to hope that all was not lost. Some of them expressed their most earnest indignation at the foreigners—the Dutchmen—for having shot down so many of their men. This led us to believe that the Eleventh corps,—of whom many were foreign Germans, and whom, on the previous evening, they tauntingly told us they had met at Chancellorsville—had done their duty, and had nobly redeemed their character. We afterwards found the explanation of this indignation when we learned what had taken place that evening, on the eastern flank of Cemetery hill. Then again, soon after this, some were heard to say: "The Yankees have a *good position*, and we must drive them out of it to-morrow." This assured us that our men had been able to hold their position, and that our lines were unbroken. There seemed now to be an entire absence of that elation and boastfulness which they manifested when they entered the town on the evening of the 1st of July. Still later at night, one said to another, in tones of great earnestness, "I am very much discouraged," from which we learned that the results of the day were not in accordance with their high expectations, although they

said, during the evening, they had been driving us on our right and our left.

Some time after supper, about midnight, nearly all of those who had returned to town, instead of lying down to sleep, moved eastward again to our right. Soon afterwards, some of those who remained as a guard, and for the purpose of plundering the houses and cellars of citizens, said to us, "To-morrow, Longstreet, who has just arrived this evening, and has not yet been in the fight, will give the Yankees something to do." Of course this was mere boasting, for two of Longstreet's divisions had been in position during the day, and McLaws' was active in the fight. Only Pickett's division had arrived during the evening.

There was some readjusting of their lines during the night. Pickett was placed to the left of Anderson and to the right of Heth, and directly opposite our left centre; and Rhodes moved his division, at 2 A. M., to join the rest of Ewell's corps on our right; so as to be ready, by the dawn of day, to improve the temporary advantage he had gained the evening before, and obtain possession of Culp's hill and then the Baltimore road. Thus massed, Ewell designed, like his predecessor, Stonewall Jackson, to throw his whole force upon and break our right. This was the work which it seems was assigned to him to do on Friday, the 3d of July; whilst

it was made the duty of Longstreet to perform a similar work on our left centre. Such was the Rebel programme for the morrow.

FRIDAY JULY 3.

On the previous evening, just as the fighting at Culp's hill had ceased, a portion of the Twelfth corps, which had been sent to the left to support Sickles, returned again to the right. During the night Shaler's brigade, of the third division of the Sixth corps, was transferred to the same vicinity, and to these was also added Lockwood's Maryland brigade. Such was the preparation on our part to resist the Rebel shock.

At the dawn of day our artillery opened upon the Rebels at the point where they had, on the previous evening, penetrated our lines. At sunrise this was followed by a general infantry attack. The battle raged furiously, and was maintained with desperate obstinacy on both sides. At eight o'clock there was a cessation for a short time; after which it was renewed with increased earnestness. From 4:30 to 10:30 A. M., with terrible slaughter, our men pushed the enemy backward, until they drove them over our breastworks entirely broken to pieces. In this work of death, a battery of artillery placed on a hill to the right of the Baltimore turnpike, and some distance south of the Cemetery, was found to have performed a prominent part. Shot and shell were thrown thence over

the Twelfth corps, into the retiring enemy. The cannonading lasted for about an hour and a half. At 10 A. M., the fighting had nearly ceased on our right, after which it was not renewed on that part of the line. From 11 A. M. to 1 P. M. there was a perfect lull, each party apparently waiting to see what the other was about to do, and at what point the attack was to be made.

At seven minutes past 1 P. M., the awful and portentous silence was broken. Probably not less than 150 guns on each side belched forth the missiles of death, producing such a continuous succession of crashing sounds as to make us feel as if the very heavens had been rent asunder—such as were never equalled by the most terrific thunder-storm ever witnessed by mortal man. The air was filled with lines of whizzing, screaming, bursting shells and solid shot. The enemy had placed his guns on the hills near the Bonaughtown road, near the York road, near the Harrisburg road, and on the Seminary ridge along its whole line to a point beyond Round Top, so as to subject our artillery on Cemetery hill to a circle of cross fires, and to enable him to dismount and destroy them. By this means he hoped to break our front center; but in this he was not successful.

During the day General Lee had reconnoitred our position from the College cupola—although, being a hospital, that edifice, by all principals of

military honor, should have been free from every hostile use—and had come to the conclusion that our left center was the weakest part of our lines. Anderson and McLaws had failed to turn our left flank on the previous evening; Ewell had most signally failed in the morning to take Culp's hill and turn our right; and now some other point must be assailed—that point was the position held by Hancock.

When 2:30 P. M. came, it witnessed a determined effort on the part of the enemy to accomplish this result, so important and desirable to him. At this time, Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps, consisting of the brigades of Garnet, Kemper and Armistead, was seen to emerge from the wooded crest of the Seminary ridge, just to the south of McMillan's orchard, and to move in two long, dark, massive lines, over the plain towards our left center. This division was supported on our left by Pettigrew's brigade of Heth's division, and on the right by Wright's and Wilcox's brigades of Anderson's division. When this mass of men had moved over about one-third of the space between the two opposing lines, our batteries, placed in a grove near Bryan's house, opened upon them, and threw shells and grape into the advancing column; now for a few moments they seemed to hesitate; then, with a terrific yell they rushed forward. In a few moments a tremendous roar, proceeding from the simultaneous discharge from thousands of muskets and rifles, shook the

earth; then, in the portion of the line nearest us, a few, then more, and then still more Rebels, in all to the number of about two hundred, were seen moving backwards towards the point from which they had so defiantly proceeded; and at last two or three men carrying a single battle-flag, which they had saved from capture, and several officers on horse-back, followed the fugitives. The wounded and dead were seen strewn amongst the grass and grain; men with stretchers stealthily picking up and carrying the former to the rear; and officers for a moment contemplating the scene with evident amazement, and riding rapidly towards the Seminary ridge. Our men having quietly waited until the Rebels came to the Emmittsburg road, poured a deadly fire into them, and cut them down like grass before the mower's scythe. The rank and file had been made to believe that they were making this charge upon the Pennsylvania militia; but their delusion was now broken, and in surprise they exclaimed, "The Army of the Potomac!" But still they pressed onward. General Gibbon had ordered his men to fall back, to enable the artillery to use grape. The enemy came up to the cannon's mouth, and were blown away or cut down by hundreds. Seeing them waver, General Webb cried out, "Boys, the enemy is ours!" and his brigade rushed upon them and captured eight hundred prisoners; Stannard's brigade took as many more; and still others were captured, swelling the number

of prisoners to 3,500. Fifteen stands of colors were taken. So sudden and complete was the slaughter and capture of nearly all of Pickett's men, that one of his officers who fell wounded amongst the first on the Emmittsburg road, and who characterized the charge as foolish and mad, said that when, in a few moments afterwards, he was enabled to rise and look about him, the whole division had disappeared as if blown away by the wind. In this charge, two of our Generals, Hancock and Gibbon, were wounded. Of the Rebels, Kemper was seriously wounded, Armistead mortally, and Garnett was killed.

But whilst these things were in progress, we must not suppose that the enemy was inactive on his extreme right. He showed considerable signs of vigor opposite Little Round Top. Hood's division was trying all the afternoon what success they might meet with in driving our men from that stronghold and turning our flank. To complete our victory on our whole line, the Pennsylvania Reserves were called upon to make a charge upon a battery which the enemy had been using to annoy them, placed on the hill just in front, and from which they had been driven the evening before. Our men took the battery, 300 prisoners, and 5,000 stand of arms, and drove the enemy half a mile beyond the line they had occupied during the day. This took place about 5 P. M., and with it ended the battle of Gettysburg.

At that time the enemy began to exhibit signs of uneasiness and fear. They gathered up the wounded and sent them to the rear as fast as possible. They now feared that our men would make a dash upon them, a thing for which they evidently had no very great relish. They said to us, "The Yankees intend, this evening, to charge upon us in the streets;" and when asked upon what authority they spoke, they only answered that they knew that such was to be the case, being evidently influenced by their fears. Apprehensive of such a result, they took a hasty supper, and, about midnight, formed in two ranks, and were under arms, as if awaiting a charge.

The third day closed, leaving them in a condition far different from that in which they entered the town on the evening of the first. They came in exultant, and flushed with victory. They were in a good fighting condition; had an easy day's work; had killed, wounded, and captured many of our men, and had lost a far smaller number of their men; and there were as yet only two of our corps to oppose them. The *first* was the day of their triumph; the *second* ended without securing them any decided advantage—it was rather ominous of disaster, yet they were hopeful; but the *third* closed, leaving them repulsed at every point, not only showing the futility of any further attempt to carry any portion of

lines, or of doing us any serious damage, but the probability of a disastrous result, should our men, as they feared, act on the offensive.

Lee could therefore do no better than hastily remove Ewell's division from its exposed position in the town and the hills southeast of it, under cover of which he lay, and place them behind his defences on the Seminary ridge. Accordingly, by 3 A. M. of the 4th, all the Rebels had been withdrawn from the town and placed in the rear of that ridge, where, during the day they occupied some time in strengthening their breast-works and preparing for an assault. This was, however, no doubt done as a precautionary measure, to enable their rear, if necessary, to make an obstinate resistance, while the main body of the army was retreating. In fact, there is sufficient evidence that Lee's retreat began soon after the night of the 3d had set in, and that he was hurrying his wounded, his stores, his ammunition and wagon train forward all night and all Saturday (the 4th) by the two roads leading to the Cumberland Valley; the one by the Chambersburg turnpike, as far as to Greenwood, and thence towards Waynesboro'; and the other, directly towards the latter point and Hagerstown. After the experience of Friday, the 3d, the retreat from Gettysburg and from the presence of General Meade's army became to General Lee a military necessity; and as Sunday dawned upon us, only a few Rebel pickets remained in this region of country, unless we

except the multitudes of stragglers from his army, and a larger number of his wounded, which were literally emptied out of his wagons into farm-houses and barns in his hasty retreat.

This battle of three days will compare, in magnitude and far-reaching consequences, with any of the great battles of modern times. In the battle of Waterloo, the Allies had 72,000, the French 80,000 men; in this the Rebels had 9,000, the Federals about 60,000 men. The British had 186 cannon, the French 252; the Rebels had upwards of 200, and we had an equal number. The Allies lost 20,000 in killed and wounded; the French 40,000 in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters; the Federals lost 2,834 killed, 14,709 wounded, and 6,643 prisoners, or in all, about 24,000; whilst the Rebels lost 5,500 killed, 21,000 wounded, 9,000 prisoners, and 4,000 stragglers and deserters, or a total of about 40,000. The proportion of men and of losses, in both battles, is nearly the same. The battle of Waterloo resulted in effectually crushing the power of Napoleon and the grinding despotism that he was exercising over Europe. It broke to pieces that army in whose track followed desolation and famine, and whose final triumph must have resulted in the destruction of all the then existing governments of the civilized world. The battle of Gettysburg resulted, first, in checking the progress and then in destroying the power of a well-disciplined and defiant army.

which had come to the North for the express purpose of robbery and of spreading terror and desolation in its track, and, by the capture of Baltimore and Washington, of dictating to us the most humiliating terms of peace. The sway of Napoleon over subject Europe would not have been more tyrannical and destructive of the vital interests of the people, than would have been the establishment, by a decisive victory of Lee, of an overbearing slave-power as a controlling influence in our country. The fall of Vicksburg and of Port Hudson, which followed immediately after the battle of Gettysburg, though of the highest importance to the country, is, nevertheless, not equal in its influence to the breaking of the power of an army which was striking a blow at the heart of the nation. In the defeat, therefore, of Lee the corner-stone of that fabric, which the rebellion sought to erect on human bondage and the distinction of the races of men, which God has made of one blood, is crushed to pieces, and the bright days of a happy future loom up before our vision, when we shall once more be a united and prosperous people.

THE END.

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